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ABSTRACT

The report describes a project on union citizenship activity and presents recommendations from a labor education conference in Silver Spring, Maryland, November 9-10, 1977. Citizen education of union members involves training programs for workers undertaken either singly by unions or in concert with educational institutions. The report is presented in five sections. Section I contains background information on trade unions, discusses the role of labor education within unions, and defines the project's objectives. These include better understanding of and recommendations to improve citizenship education. Section II discusses project administration and design. Section III provides a philosophical overview of unions and union activity within a citizen education setting. Section IV suggests union citizenship activities, including courses on labor law, political economy, international trade, and bargaining methods; meetings with political leaders; and conferences with other workers to explore on-the-job problems and community services. The final section presents conference recommendations, including: (1) all union members should be encouraged to participate in citizenship education activities; (2) curriculum must be broadened to include political and economic topics; (3) workers should be given sabbatical leave to pursue educational aims; and (4) a federal labor extension service should be created to fund labor education programs on a continuing basis. The appendix presents directories of conference participants, university and trade union labor education programs, and a conference paper on labor, community, and citizenship education. (Author/DB)

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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PROJECT ON

CITIZEN EDUCATION IN A UNION SETTING

FINAL REPORT

SP 010 716

Submitted to Citizen Education
Office of Education, U. S. Department
of Health, Education and Welfare

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INTRODUCTION

The project Citizen Education in a Union Setting that is sponsored by the University and College Labor Education Association was funded by a grant from the U. S. Office of Education Citizen Education Unit within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

The project report is divided into five sections along with separate appendix.

The first section entitled Background contains information on trade unions, and the purpose of the proposal.

The second section Administration discusses the administration and design of the project and the steps used in carrying it out.

The third section, Citizen Education in the Union Setting: A Map attempts to provide something of a philosophical overview of unions and union activity within a citizen education setting.

The fourth section Citizen Education in A Union Setting: A Sampler provides examples of union citizenship activity and should be read together with the Peters conference discussion paper that is contained in the appendix.

The fifth section contains the conference Recommendations.

The completed final report of this project is due to the efforts of a great many persons, who came together on very short notice, to assist the project director to carry out his responsibilities. There were four groups that participated in this project. Aside from the project director and the staff of the USOE Citizen Education Unit, there were the President and Secretary-Treasurer of the University and College Labor Education Association and the Director and Assistant Director of the Department of Education of the AFL-CIO (this group formed an informal pre-planning group), the conference planning

committee who assisted in developing the project, and last the conferees that came together for 1 day to provide the project with their advice, counsel and recommendation for citizen education in a union setting.

The names and organizations of the participants will be found in the text of this report or in the appendix to it.

I would like to acknowledge the efforts of each person that participated in this project and to thank them for their cooperation and services to the project.

John R. MacKenzie
Project Director
University and College Labor Education Association

BACKGROUND

Trade unions are a major institutional force in the United States. They have grown since the passage of the National Labor Relations or Wagner Act in 1935 to represent 22 million Americans in most major industries and non-managerial and professional occupations. Unions provide major representative fuctions for their members through their economic, political, legislative and societal activity, nationally and around the world.

The U. S. Department of Labor noted in their 1975 bi-annual directory of trade unions that there were close to 200 national and international (local unions in Canada and the United States) unions and associations classified as unions with over 65,000 locals, state councils, and regional organizations. These union organizations are located in all sections of the country, every state in the union, in the mountains and the plains, in the small towns and in the cities. These labor organizations are democratic institutions whose local, regional and international officers obtain their positions through the electoral process. Union workers at their employment location-whether at factory, mine, construction site, in transportation, government or the professions select their shop stewards to protect their collective bargaining rights under their agreements. Yet union members, for the most part, do not participate in their internal electoral processes to a greater extent then they do as citizens in the political life of their community, state or nation.

Unions carry on a variety of political, legislative and community activities on behalf of their members from the highest to the lowest levels of government, before community agencies, fraternal organizations, business

and industry, the courts and other organizations. Trade unions provide the opportunity for greater participation of their members in industrial citizenship and the many facets of American life through the strength, that comes from numbers, knowledge of society's functions, and the ability to pass this on to their members through a variety of economic, political, social and educational functions.

Dr. Joseph Mire in his 1956 study, Labor Education, described the scope of workers education (labor education is the term most commonly accepted today) as follows:

> "Workers' education deals primarily with the educational needs of workers as they arise out of their participation in the labor movement. It is thought of here as education carried on either under direct union auspices or education carried on by non-labor agencies jointly with union groups. Its objective is the improvement of the worker's individual and group competence and the advancement of his social, economic and cultural interest, so that he can become a "mature, wise, and responsible" citizen, able to play his part in the union and in a free society and assure for himself a status of dignity and respect equal to those of other groups and individuals. To reach these objectives, workers--and union leaders--must have knowledge and skills, courage and resources, and ability to think independently so as to make free and intelligent choices.
>
> Workers' education recognizes two important concepts: a) that education is a life-long process and b) that education is a necessary part of democratic processes. Its ultimate goals and values are a recognition of human equality of rights and duties, personal liberty, and democracy as a form of government as well as a way of life."[1]

This definition of labor education's broader role within trade unions and society would be generally subscribed to by trade union officers, members and educators, as well as those labor education professionals employed by universities and colleges. But how well and in what way has labor education and trade unions met those goals as they apply to citizenship education?

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[1]Joseph Mire, Labor Education, Inter-University Labor Education Committee, Strauss Printing Company, 1956, p. 17.

Therefore this proposal is submitted to do two things:

1. To examine and evaluate the parameters of trade union citizenship education and
2. To develop recommendations regarding the strengthening of labor's role in Citizen Education.

The Proposal

The original proposal noted that this project would bring together in an invitational conference up to 12 specialists in the field of trade unions and labor education to examine trade union citizenship activity and to develop recommendations for strengthening labor's role in Citizen Education. The conferees would be selected jointly by the President of University and College Labor Education, the Director of Education of the AFL-CIO, and the project director. The conferees were to come from trade unions, universities and colleges and from organizations related to both such as the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

The conference was called for the Washington, D. C. metropolitan area at the AFL-CIO's George Meany Center for Labor Studies. This Center is a residential complex located in Silver Spring, Maryland with full conference facilities.

The conference was to be held in late October for approximately one day.

The conference was to be proceeded by the work of a pre-conference planning session that was to consider the parameters of trade union activity in citizen education and delineate ways of strengthening Labor's Role in Citizen Education, and to make recommendations. The work of this pre-conference planning committee was made available to the conferees together

with a brief analysis of the parameters of citizen education.

Product

The results of this conference and the pre-planning committee activity were to be several: a better understanding of the parameters of citizenship education through knowledge of the trade unions' internal and external citizenship activity, and of the union's relationship to other institutions and citizens groups in this field. A second major result was to be a series of recommendations regarding ways of strengthening citizen education from the point of view of select trade union and university labor educators. In these recommendations, special consideration was to be given to the implementation of proposed recommendations and the relative costs and benefits where possible.

The product was realized in two ways. The first was through the interaction of select U. S. Office of Education Citizenship staff with the union and university labor educators who took part in the conference pre-planning meeting and in the conference itself. The second vehicle was one pre-conference parameter paper and the conference report.

Three copies of the final report were to be turned over to the U.S.O.E. at the end of the project. One copy of the report was sent to each of the conferees with the recommendation that should they wish to clarify or elaborate further they do so in writing to the project director.

The Contractor

The citizenship project contractor was the University and College Labor Education Association, UCLEA. The UCLEA's constitution states the Association purpose as follows:

"The University and College Labor Education Association (UCLEA) is an organization of universities and colleges with regular and continuing programs to provide education for workers and their organizations. It shall promote cooperation among member programs, assist with the orderly expansion of labor education, promote cooperation between unions and universities and colleges in education, serve as the national representative of university and college labor education, and develop professional standards in the field of labor education."

Each of the member insitutions of the UCLEA has an advisory board composed in whole or in part of trade union leadership within their states as well as national union labor education professionals. The Advisory Boards assist the Centers in carrying on their labor education state and region wide extension programs as well their credit courses and degree programs.

The UCLEA has conducted several projects of its own as well as provided assistance to its member institutions in carrying out projects and contracts of their own. Since the UCLEA is the only national professional labor education organization in the field, its role as contractor enhanced the project's opportunity of success by assuring the cooperation of institutional affiliates, their professional staff and faculty.

PROJECT ADMINISTRATION

The initial draft of the project proposal was put together by the project director and submitted to the Citizen Education unit of the U.S.O.E.

The Citizen Education Project was divided into six sections. They were preliminary activity, the planning committee meeting, conferees, the citizen education conference, draft project report, project completion.

Preliminary Activity

After the project was funded for approximately $6,000.00, the initial

issue was to pick the two dates that the director could work toward. It was necessary to adjust the calendars of the UCLEA President, the Director and Assistant Director of Education of the AFL-CIO, the Citizen Education staff and the Project Director. The planning committee date was Wednesday, October 19, 1977 and the conference dates were set for November 9-10, 1977, tenatively for the AFL-CIO 's George Meany Center for Labor Studies in Silver Spring, Maryland. The planning committee meeting was set for the AFL-CIO Building in Washington, D. C.

The participants for the planning committee were to be selected jointly by the President of the UCLEA, the Education Director of the AFL-CIO and the Project Director. The primary criteria for the UCLEA was that they had been involved in citizen education in some form in the past or were currently active. The AFL-CIO wanted as broad a representation as possible to include national and international unions and the AFL-CIO Departments.

One of the problems facing the project staff was in attempting to provide an understanding of what citizen education was and why the U. S. Office of Education has an interest in this form of education. It was resolved by agreeing to provide the planning committee members with a kit of materials that would include the complete Task Force Report together with other written material on the subject.

In order to obtain the greatest amount of participation from the conferees at the citizen education conference the project design called for two mini-papers. These papers were to be written by persons knowledgeable about trade union activities in the community outside of the labor-relations nexus and about citizen education in general. Both of these papers were to

be given at the proposed conference as a way of focusing the discussions on each of the two major conference segments (past and present trade union citizen education and the recommendations). After a great deal of searching for specialists among the university professional staff and faculty, Ron Peters, Coordinator of the Labor Program at the University of Illinois and Alice Hoffman, Associate Professor of Labor Studies at the Pennsylvania State University, were selected to write the citizen education mini-papers.

Prior to the planning committee meeting the Registrar of the AFL-CIO George Meany Center notified the Project Coordinator that there was not sufficient room available to house our citizen education conference so the search began for a suitable new conference site.

Planning Committee

The citizen education conference planning committee met at 9:30 a.m. in the third floor conference room at the AFL-CIO Building, 815 16th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. on October 19, 1977 with the following persons in attendance:

Ben Albert	Representative of National COPE	AFL-CIO
Dale Brickner	President of UCLEA	Michigan State University
Ed Czarnecki	Assistant Director of Education	AFL-CIO
Walter Davis	Director of Education	AFL-CIO
Joel Denker	Associate Professor of Labor Studies	UDC/Labor Studies Center
Norman Eigar	Assistant Director-Labor Studies	Rutger Univ.
Elizabeth Farquhar	Citizen Education Staff	U. S. Office of Education
John Kulstad	Director of Education	Communications Workers of America
Art Kane	Director of Education	AFGE
Edgar Lee	Assistant Director	UDC/Labor Studies Center
John MacKenize	Director	UDC/Labor Studies Center
Ann Maust	Citizen Education Staff	U. S. Office of Education

Sally Payne	Department of Education	AFGE
Bob Porter	National Secretary-Treasurer	AFT

This committee was provided with a tenative agenda by the project director that attempted to provide broad parameters fro the planners. The agenda that was accepted follows:

AGENDA

Welcome.....Dale Brickner
Walter Davis

Orientation to the Citizenship.....John MacKenzie
Education Planning and
the Contract

Introductions (self)

Why This Project

What are the Project Goals, Step-by-Step.....John MacKenzie

1. Planning Meeting
2. Mini-Papers
   a. Trade Union Citizenship Role
   b. Review of the Task Force Report
3. Conference Dates - November 9-10, 1977
   a. Location_____
4. Conference Agenda
5. Project Report (November 30, 1977)
6. Project Funding

Why Citizenship Education?

Suggested Conferees

a. Union
b. University

Conference Agenda

Summary and Conslusions

The planners after the initial welcome and orientation listened to a background statement by Elizabeth Farquhar of the Citizen Education staff.

This opened the discussion of citizen education in general and of why the government's was concerned with citizen education and whether or not unions were or how they should be.

The main issue in the minds of most of the unionists was the U. S. Government's role. The concern was with what the government's role was or should be - if any. The fact that the USOE had not formally accepted the report of it's Citizen Education Task Force but was seeking further input from trade unions, business and industry community organizations and the media prior to having the react to a completed document thereby providing initial input and an opportunity to critique the report went most of the way toward making the proposed conference acceptable to the unionist and labor educators on the planning committee.

The conferees were given the opportunity to attend the conference themselves or to make recommendations for other persons to attend or to provide categories of persons to attend. Out of this discussion came the need to be flexible on the number of invitees, especially those from out of town, in order for the project to stay within its' budget projections.

The conferees agreed to a one day conference, beginning the evening of the 9th (of November) and closing by mid-afternoon on the 10th (of November). The conferees further suggested that the tenative conference time allotments be changed so that about two-thirds of the time would be spent or recommendations. This was agreed to by the project director.

The project director asked for suggested conference sites now that the George Meany Center was out. Edward Kultstad, Director of Education of the Communication Workers of America, AFL-CIO, informed the committee of a schedule change in a CWA program that would permit the project to return to the Meany Center. The new arrangements were concluded with the Meany Center

by the Monday following the planning session.

Conferees

The citizen education project coordinator, Edgar Lee, developed with the director of the project an initial list of conferees based on the planning committee's recommendations. Mr. Lee made initial contact by telephone and those that either were able to accept the invitation or that intended to attempt to do so were sent a follow-up letter by the director. The short notice that was given the potential conferees caused more difficulty for national and international union labor educators and AFL-CIO staff personnel than any other group of invitees. This group was very interested and very supportive and several suggested that if we could change dates they would come. One international union research director was so interested that he was willing to fly in from Canada where he was holding a conference and fly back the next day if we would move the conference date either backward or forward one day.

The difficulty in selecting university personnel was in attempting to find those with experiences in citizen education. In addition to those that were directly involved in the project we determined to select two more persons. One of those selected was at the Kansas City conference that assisted in pushing the notion that the nation should be more concerned with citizen education.

The project director, after examining the potential conferees, made one addition to the list-the selection of a local union leader who was involved in his or her community life in a variety of ways.

It should be pointed out that one of the goals of the conference was to select a relatively small group of conferees to insure interaction among them and the time to carry on in depth discussions - particularly on the recommendations that were to be made.

CONFERENCE

The conference began with 3:00 P.M. registration in conference room A of the Administration Building of the George Meany Center for Labor Studies in Silver Spring, Maryland. The conference agenda was as follows:

AGENDA

Wednesday, November 9, 1977

3:30 - 4:00 PM	Registration
4:00 - 6:00 PM	Welcome and Orientation Dale Brickner Ed Czarnecki Fred Hoehler John MacKenzie Introductions The Citizens Education Project Project Purpose Agenda Origin of the Citizen Education Task Force Report Elizabeth Farquhar Citizen Education - Discussion Trade Union Past and Present Roles in Citizen Education Ron Peters Discussion of Union Roles
6:00 - 7:00 PM	Dinner
7:00 - 8:00 PM	Discussion of Union Roles - Continues
8:00 - 9:00 PM	Fall City Ramblers
9:15 PM	Attitude Adjustment Period (UCLEA)

Thursday, November 10, 1977

7:30 - 8:30 AM	Breakfast
9:00 - 9:10 AM	Announcement
9:10 - 9:40 AM	How Far Have We Come? Helmut Golatz
9:40 - 12:00 NOON	Citizen Education: Recommendations From A Trade Union Perspective - I
12:00 - 1:00 PM	LUNCH
1:00 - 1:30 PM	Recommendations: What Have We Said? Helmut Golatz
1:30 - 2:45 PM	Citizen Education Recommendations From A Trade Union Perspective - II
2:45 - 3:30 PM	Recommendations: A Summary Helmut Golatz John MacKenzie

The project director acted as the conference chairman early in the session and later as the facilitator.

There were several conference methods that were to be employed if it was necessary to move the conference along. These included a conference synthesizer (Helmut Golatz) and the use of small groups to make initial recommendations and to make interest area assignments of the conferees. However, none of this was necessary due to the constancy of the purpose and the harmonious group spirit that developed. In fact the first night things moved along so rapidly and so well that the conferees worked a full thirty-five minutes into a cultural presentation sponsored by the George Meany Center that they had intended to listen to. When the time was realized the group voted to continue working and did not break until well after 9:00 P.M.

The conference was indebted to Helmut Golatz who developed a matrix with

which we could deal with recommendations. This assisted the group in dealing with three essential areas. These included the workplace, the institution of the trade union (including internal and external functions), and the individual. This break down will be further pointed up in the sections that follow.

The conferees determined the format for the project report that would best reflect their thinking. The final report is attempting to follow the recommendation.

In closing this section of the report one person deserves mention for the smooth functioning of the conference and in large measure the entire project. This is Edgar Lee, the conference coordinator whose functions extended well beyond the conference into most phases of the project administration. We are indebted to Ed to his professionalism, his sense of humor, and his handling of the many details that made the conference and the project run so smoothly.

Project Report

The citizen education conferees decided that they would like the opportunity to comment on the final report. This was agreed to in principle by the project director but he was very concerned about the short time frame within which the project was operating. The USOE citizen education staff, in attendance, felt conference input was necessary and they would be more than willing to extend the project time.

In deciding on the final format for the report the conferees became a committee of the whole and in the spirit of citizen education agreed with the project director on the draft section assignments. They follow:

Introduction	John MacKenzie
Background	John MacKenzie
Administration	John MacKenzie

Citizen/Education In A Union Setting: A Map	Helmut Golatz
Citizen Educatin In A Union Setting: A Sampler	Alice Hoffman
Recommendations	Joel S. Denker
Appendix	John R. MacKenzie

The report in rough draft form was sent to each conferee and they were requested to return their comments immediately to the project director. When this was completed, the project director and the other draftsmen assembled to work out differences, corrections, to perform rewrites, etc. based on conferee input.

The final report will be duplicated and sent to each conferee and several additional persons who wished to attend the conference but were unable to do so. If additional comments are sent back to the project director, he will in turn forward them to the conferees and to the U. S. Office of Education Citizen Education Staff.

Beyond this, the UCLEA Executive Board requested copies of the final report and the Association President requested, if it was financially possible, that University and College program directors be sent copies of the document for their institution's staff and faculty information.

Project Closing

The Project Director and the Association Secretary-Treasurer of the UCLEA scheduled a meeting in early January to complete all remaining financial activity stemming from the project.

The list of conferees together with their organizational affiliation are found in appendix A of this report along with a listing of those individuals who played a formal role within the conference.

CITIZEN EDUCATION IN UNION SETTINGS: A MAP

Membership in a labor organization can provide opportunities for citizenship education and experience in at least four distinct settings. There are:

1. The workplace---job citizenship
2. The internal union government--organizational citizenship
3. The public--community and political citizenship
4. The individual--personal citizenship

In effect, the labor movement constitutes an autonomous structure through which its members communicate their interests and concerns to the larger pluralistic society. While every other organization or interest group may be sensitive to the needs of securing its internal government (2), of seeking public recognition and support for its programs (3), and of enriching the growth of its members as persons (4), labor organizations alone in American society make possible the exercise of responsible citizenship at the workplace.

1. The Workplace--Job Citizenship

Every relationship between employees and employers addresses itself to three basic questions:

- What are the rules on wages, hours, and other items of employment?
- Who makes the rules? How are they made?
- Who enforces the rules? How are the enforced?

These questions will arise as long as there are organizations of people producing goods and services. Organization implies hierarchy, that some will have the authority to give orders which other will find it more or less legitimate to obey within the context of a system of rewards and penalties. Collective

Bargaining is an attempt to get at the problems of orders, rewards, and penalties through mutual agreement of the parties directly concerned.

Collective Bargaining implies labor organizations, i.e., unions, free to set their own strategies and goals without interference from either employers or governments, and strong enough in terms of membership and financial resources to make themselves heard. Millions of Americans in the construction, mining, manufacturing, service and transportation industries have achieved this status. Many in public and professional employment are moving in that direction.

Among American employers only union members by legal right and organizational power share as equals the responsibility for making and administering the rules by which they work. Labor relations laws, on both the federal and state levels, recognize the right of workers to form unions for the purpose of collective bargaining. These laws, however, are not self-implementing; groups of workers still have to organize themselves in order to enjoy and exercise that right. Thus, they must demonstrate sufficient political power to gain certification as bargaining agents through representation elections conducted by the government's labor relations agencies. Being so certified, they must then be able to apply sufficient economic pressure to gain consideration for their demands in the collective bargaining process.

Collective Bargaining represents an exercise in industrial democracy. Through an internal electoral process workers select representatives of their own choosing to negotiate with the employers the terms of their employment (legislation), share in the responsibility of applying these rules to the dynamics of the work situation (administration), and they have access

to an appeals process through which disputes over the application of the rules to particular cases are heard and adjudicated (jurisprudence). The advent of collective bargaining has transformed the employment relationship from one that was autocratic to one that is constitutional and democratic. Union members are no longer subjects, they are citizens on the job. (Incidentally, the civil rights which union members have achieved on the job are extended by law to all workers in a given bargaining unit, members and non-members alike. This is the heart of the union security issue, with unions insisting that since all receive benefits, all should contribute to the support of the union.)

As citizens on the job, whenever union members have reason to believe that the collective bargaining agreement is being violated, they have the right to protest in an orderly way without fear of reprisal. This is industrial free speech. For example, changes in production schedules normally trigger a succession of job promotions, tranfers, demotions, lay-offs, or re-hires; whatever the shifts in job status, union members have the right to insist that jobs will be assigned according to the set of rules specified in the contract--the minimal usually being seniority--that apply to all members equally. In the event of disputes, workers consult their shop representatives (stewards) to determine whether the facts of the case warrant an appeal for redress. Access to this grievance procedure secures due process in the workplace and promotes a sense of equity and fair play.

It is of the essence of citizenship that it cannot be conferred. ("A right is not what someone gives you; it's what no one can take from you".) Instead, it must be grasped and held. Many non-organized employes are treated like citizens, but the scope and tenor of that treatment consists of options which employers alone possess. Top managers may honestly believe that treating

their workers decently is good business practice, or that consulting more openly with managers down the line in the decision-making process is sound human relations strategy. But the point is that such unilateral generosity is a tenuous thing which may not survive the next change of chief executive, of corporate structure, or of product or labor market stress. The executive holds the initiative--as he gives, so he can take away--and the employee adjusts or departs. To the extent that freedom is a function of options, the citizen options left to the non-organized employe are to appeal to law or to separate from the firm.

Certainly there is legislation--occupational safety and health, employee retirement insurance, equal employment opportunity--that is intended to protect every employee at the workplace. But individual resources are rarely sufficient to move either the government, to enforce the fine points of the law or the employer to comply with them. The individual is lost in the glacial shuffle.

It takes collective power. The civil rights on the job which unionists have earned for themselves are both a reward and a burden. They are a return for having mustered sufficient economic and political power to achieve them in the first place. Grievance procedures are charades, for example, absent the concerted force of workers to make employers heed. Civil rights on the job are a burden because the task of protecting and upholding them in the face of relentless technological change is an endless one.

By and large American trade unionists accept the private enterprise system. However, they reserve the right to humanize it on terms which will guarantee the identity of workers. Unions are the link by which workers locate themselves in the larger American scene. As such they are a conservative social force in the American scheme of things.

2. The Internal Union Government--Organizational Citizenship

The structure of the American labor movement provides two arenas for the practice of organizational citizenship. The first is the national union which charters the local units to which members belong; the second is the federation or central body, i.e. the union of unions on local, state, and national levels. Unions like the Steelworkers and Teamsters are national unions (sometimes international in scope); the AFL-CIO is a federation of unions in the same sense that the U.N. is a federation of nations--membership is organizational.

National unions have traditionally been organized along craft skill (electricians, plumbers, operating engineers) or industrial (steel, auto, coal) lines. Their governments reflect the industrial environment--the product and labor markets--which they inhabit. Concentrated industries usually elicit centralized union governments, and vice versa.

National unions are essentially political organizations. They create constitutions which spell out the legislative, administrative, and judicial procedures by which the members will govern themselves. They set up a network of member representation reaching from the workplace to the regularly scheduled national union conventions where resolutions regarding collective bargaining and political and social goals are debated and adopted as union policy. Participation and access to these organizational activities are open to all members. The ultimate decision-making sanction is the electoral process.

Internally national unions must mediate the inevitable competing interests within their respective constituencies. In formulating collective bargaining policy, for example, they must be sensitive to the often conflicting demands of old vs. new members, minority vs. white, male vs. female, skilled vs. semiskilled. Each national union seeks its own best fit of compromises to preserve the unity

and integrity of the organization amidst the welter of contending membership pressures. The side that gets the most votes rules--at least until the next election.

For union members the labor organization represents an alternate opportunity for upward mobility. Many prefer to take their chances in the rough and tumble of union political life rather than in the conventional promises of the corporate ladder.

National unions are prey to the same bureaucratic ills as are other large organizations. Recent federal legislation has intervened to prescribe some of the terms of the electoral process and to review the conduct of union office. Implementation of the laws, however, still requires the initiative of responsible organizational citizenship at the grass roots within local union memberships.

The second arena of internal citizenship accessible to union members is that of labor federations, i.e., unions of unions. Local unions, for instance, can opt to affiliate directly with a city or county labor council and/or with a state labor council; national unions can affiliate directly with a national federation like the AFL-CIO. Whatever the geographic level, the major functions of these central bodies is to represent the legislative, political, and community interests of their affiliates. Thus, the AFL-CIO presses for labor law reform on behalf of its affiliated national unions whose collective bargaining efforts are hindered by the existing law. Not all national unions, most notably the Auto Workers, Teamsters and Mine Workers, belong to this federated structure. However, they often reinforce the efforts of AFL-CIO affiliates in the pursuit of common political and community objectives at the local, state, and national levels.

3. The Public--Community and Political Citizenship

Labor sees a logical progression from citizenship on the job to citizenship in the community. Members may bring to the workplace problems which are rooted in circumstances outside the plant gates; hence labor's citizenship concern for the quality of services represented by community health, welfare, and recreation agencies and by state and federal social programs.

Characteristically, labor provides autonomous opportunities for its members to assume their roles as citizens in their communities. A review and assessment of labor's record in its community services programs appears elsewhere in this report. (See "Labor, Community, and Citizenship: A Discussion Paper" by Ronald J. Peters Appendix B.)

As indicated above, public policy impinges upon labor's collective bargaining relationships, its efforts to achieve democractic self-government within its own organizations, and its programs to improve the quality of community services. Therefore, labor designs its own legislative and political programs to express its needs and concerns to the larger American polity. The implementation of these programs provides its members with opportunities for political citizenship.

Labor's political action programs engage members in the nuts and bolts of election campaigns: registration and get-out- the vote drives; publication of voting records and other election issues materials; coalitions with sympathetic interest groups; financial and personnel support for endorsed candidates; and the raising of voluntary funds to pay for all the above.

With respect to the legislative process, labor's representatives perform the accepted role as lobbyists to furnish information and technical assistance, to appear before legislative committees, and to garner the necessary votes to

pass or defeat specific measures as the case may be.

At the executive level, labor seeks a voice in the appointment of know ledgeable administrators who are sensitive to labor's position, particularly with regard to legislation which affects collective bargaining, union government, social services, and the relationship of labor to other institutions in American society.

4. The Individual--Personal Citizenship

Although labor organizations present multiple opportunities for the exercise of citizenship, as noted above, it is obvious that many union members do not take advantage of them. Some never do. Some are engaged for brief spans of time; they may prefer to use the citizenship skills they acquired as unionists in situations and groups outside the labor structure. Some have dedicated their full adult lives to union citizenship roles.

Whether the state of citizenship is any more or less robust in unions than in society as a whole is perhaps a serious topic for extended research. Meanwhile, the point is that the labor movement in a sense offers an alternative society. Its collective bargaining agreements promise a measure of security and stability in a turbulent job world. Its organizations offer a focus of personal reference and identification in an otherwise atomistic society. Its programs furnish opportunities to acquire knowledge, to develop interpersonal and leadership skills, to examine attitudes and to gain peer recognition.

For those who take part the unexpected discovery of self can be exhilarating. As a black hospital worker exclaimed when she tasted victory after an organizing drive in her native South, "I am Somebody!" Developing somebodies is one of the things the labor movement is about.

CITIZEN EDUCATION IN A UNION SETTING: A SAMPLER

A CHAIN TO FORGE

The men of power lay hands on the hills:
The great rocks split with the thrust of their drills.
They choke the lightning to yield them speed,
Twisting the torrents to meet their need.
Their swift wires stretch for the learning spark;
Their power plants shatter the groping dark.
Over the clouds their planes are flown;
Under the seas their engines drone.
The world is held in their hands alone.

In search of work the men tramp by.
Hungry, they ask the reason why.
Doubting, despairing; age and youth
Seeking together the potent truth.
"Bread we must have and not only bread.
Is there no hope? Must we walk in dread?
Link power to need with a strong, new chain!
Release the forces of hand and brain.
For the common good, let us build again!"

POEM BY
Hilda Worthington Smith
1964

The citizen education programs which are conducted by and for labor organizations are offered within a larger framework of workers education. This form of adult education began in this country in 1921 with the foundation of Brookwood Labor College and in the same year with the founding of the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers. The Brookwood Labor College floundered over its relationship to the trade union organizations. Moreover, the fact that it was a residential program of study presented additional problems. Few workers were able to absent themselves from the shop and the union hall for such extended periods of study.

The Bryn Mawr School, however, played a seminal role and left its imprint indelibly on workers education down to the present time. M. Carey Thomas, the President of Bryn Mawr, was an active suffragist and she felt that if women were to play their part, all women, not just the intelligentsia, must be educated to their new role as active citizens. On a summer European tour, she saw in the Workers Education programs in Britian a model which could be applied to working women in this country and returned to the United States with a vision for a school for working women. She enlisted the ccoperation of Hilda Worthington Smith who was a dean at the College. At Miss Thomas' behest, Miss Smith created a truely remarkable program for women workers. Guided by the principles of self-government that characterized Bryn Mawr, she created a school that was in itself an exercise in citizen education. All decisions about the school were made by a committee composed of an equal number of worker-students and educators.

Miss Smith was also aware that the teaching methods would have to be adjusted to the needs of the students. Many of the students had not progressed beyond the sixth grade in formal schooling, many were from immigrant

families and spoke English as a second language. Therefore, classes were kept small; discussion was considered more valuable than lectures. The unnecessary use of large words or pedantry was avoided. Creative teaching and unusual methodologies were encouraged. The students' practical experience was considered in discussions, and in many cases, was held to be as important as the academic viewpoint. Teaching material had to be relevant to the life experience of the workers. And to win their respect, the program had to be pragmatic and readily applicable to the circumstances in which the workers found themselves. There were no grades or examinations. Alternatives to these more traditional methods of evaluation were sought and found.[1]

In 1933 Miss Smith was asked by Harry Hopkins to come to Washington to set up a program in workers' education which would train unemployed teachers to teach in the programs. This effort is best described by Miss Smith herself.

> It was carried on first under the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, which later became the Civil Works Administration, and then became the Works Progress Administration and the Works Project Administration, the WPA. Our part of the program included 2,000 unemployed teachers all over the United States. Every one of those teachers had to be certified as in need of relief. This was a relief program. Education came in by the back door to give teachers some thing to live on, but it supplemented what the Office of Education was doing in adult education.
>
> We were of course in a very difficult position because nobody had ever heard of workers' education in the school system, and we had to be sponsored in every state by school officials, by the state school officials. So that we had to win their support for a program which they did not know very much about and of which they were very suspicious. It was branded as a very radical program. We kept saying, "this is straight education; there is nothing to hide; there is nothing

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[1] Knowledge as Power, The Life Story of Hilda Worthington Smith. Unpublished Ms. Lynn Goldfarb, p. 47

to apologize for; classes were open to everybody; come in and listen and see what is happening in these workers' classes."

Of course, we also realized these teachers, these 2,000 teachers who were assigned to us on a relief basis, had to be trained; and we were given special funds to train these unemployed teachers for a field which they knew very little about. Many of them were from elementary schools; many of them were Ph. D.'s from universities, full professors, all kinds of teachers. We were given special funds by the administration to open training centers, and for three years we opened training centers in workers' education for the teachers, borrowing forty-five university buildings and borrowing economists from those universities to help us set up these training centers. The teachers were a wonderful group. They had never dreamed of such an opportunity for free discussion, and it was really free. It was controversial; it was full of conflicts; but it was true education, presenting material from all points of view with material from every source in the United States that had a bearing on the economic problems of workers.

The training centers ran on for two years and then were closed. These 2,000 teachers were then placed in thirty-five states. The states put in supervisors, and the teachers were in every kind of wage-earning group, in union halls with migratory workers, in settlements, in church halls, and all over the country, with the sharecroppers, with rural and industrial workers and white collar workers. And the activities were many and varied. There were not only classes; there were information centers with long lines of people waiting to ask questions about various phases of their industrial problems, consumers' problems. There were art workshops; there were drama workshops; there were classes in labor journalism, in public speaking, in parliamentary law. All the tool subjects which workers desired to study were offered under this program, and there were over two million people in the classes and in these activities as reported by the states.

Another program was then given to us in the Washington office, a program for unemployed women. And at that period there were thousands, some of them walking the roads. They left their families to save money, to save food in their families. A special committee in Washington was organized, representing all the federal departments that were related to the problems of unemployed women. Mrs. Roosevelt had a conference at the White House with a hundred representatives from women's organizations, and we launched this program. They approved it, and they advised on the policies of these schools and campus. The reporters immediately called them

> the "She, She, She Camps." We had the CCC's for the men, but these were the "She, She, She's for the women, unemployed women. We borrowed buildings all over the country, old hotels, CCC camps, college buildings, school building; wherever we could get a suitable room and suitable buildings, the schools were organized. The directors were appointed by the states. It later became part of the National Youth Administration and was operated under the Youth Administration during the last year. But in three years there were 8,000 unemployed women attending these schools for four months at a time. We hardly knew what to teach them. We decided on a program of home economics, of vocational counseling get them ready to apply for jobs when the jobs were available again, and a program also of community responsibilities, citizenship, and health education, along with recreation.[2]

The campuses of forty-five universities were used for these training programs so that when the war came and unemployment was no longer a problem, these schools were left with a cadre of trained teachers and administrators with some considerable experience with Miss Smith's philosophy, method and with her fire and zeal for workers' education. It is perhaps relevant to note that one of her teachers in this program was Hubert Humphrey.

Many universities continued to sponsor programs of their own and to follow Miss Smith's precept in forming labor advisory committees and maintaining her concept of student involvement in the development of the program and its implementation. (See attached list of University Labor Education Services: Appendix C)

Miss Smith has described her vision in this way. "A dim conception of the labor movement of the future hovered in my mind--a movement whose leaders, educated for new purposes, would be concerned not only with the bitter struggle for union recognition...but also with wide social responsibilities; with the enrichment of life for the individual and the

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[2]Oral History Interview with Hilda Smith, conducted by the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library and also on deposit at the Pennsylvania Historical Collections Pattee Library, The Pennsylvania State University. (pp. 7-9)

community".[3] In this vision she conceived the basic curriculum as follows: "I always thought of it (the workers education curriculum) in four parts: the worker and his industry (the background of the industry, wages, hours, the conditions of work); the worker and his union; the worker and government (the laws which affect industry); and the worker as an individual, as a citizen in the community.")[4]

One can see that this basic formulation of the content of workers education has not been changed very much and its basic structure still provides a useful formulation for the descriptive analysis of workers' education. Moreover this brief historical description of the antecedents of workers' education provides a model of continued usefulness. We could undoubtedly find in it much that would be applicable to current concerns for citizen education among the unemployed and the underemployed.

Today workers' education takes place in one or more of four basic settings:

1. Local or international unions offer programs cooperatively through a university or college. In these cases the cost is met by the union although there is often some form of state subsidy which helps to support the program. The program is planned jointly by the union and the sponsoring educational institution.

2. International uninns plan programs for their own membership. (see appended list of unions with separate departments specifically charged with the implementation and development of educational programs Appendix C)

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[3]Unpublished Mss. of the Autobiography of Hilda W. Smith. p. 766

[4]Oral History Interview. Op Cit, p. 12-13

3. State and county central bodies offer programs often with the aid of educational institutions. These programs focus on political education since the central bodies are fundamentally concerned with local, state and national elections. The AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE) operates through these central bodies (The UAW operates through similar CAP Councils).

4. The AFL-CIO itself operates two separate educational functions: A. The George Meany Labor Studies Center in Silver Spring, Maryland, which offers a wide variety of programs ranging from art appreciation to labor law. The Center also offers college credit for their students through a cooperative program with Antioch College. B. The Department of Education of the AFL-CIO, which prepares materials for use by all those who work in the field of labor education, maintains a film library and offers to teach in programs where they are invited by affiliates as well as conducts conferences and special programs as the need and opportunity arises.

The United Auto Workers has a similar structure in that their Education Department plays a comparable role to that of the AFL-CIO Education Department, and they also operate a Family Educational Center at Black Lake Michigan.

Rather than attempt an exhaustive description of the citizen education efforts in each of these settings, this portion of the report will present an example of citizen education in each of these areas which is fairly typical and represents one or more of the four areas of citizen education as it operates in each of these settings.

1. The Workplace - Job Citizenship

Local unions or international unions, frequently in cooperation with

a university or college, offer programs to their membership in shop-steward training. A typical program of shop-steward training would include a brief analysis of the conditions under which labor unions were first formed and developed, an analysis of the collective bargaining relationship and study of a union contract. The course usually assists the student in identifying the rights and obligations of the workers on the job. In other words the course assists workers determining and expressing their citizenship roles on the job. Shop-steward training also helps the students to understand the mechanisms available to process grievances and spells out procedures for the settlement of disputes which arise on the job under the terms of an existing contractual relationship between employees and management.

2. The Internal Union Government - Organizational Citizenship

One of the best examples of citizen education in this area is the Union Leadership Academy courses in Trade Uninn Administration and Labor Leadership. The Union Leadership Academy seeks to promote responsibility of the worker as a union member, a citizen and a leader. The Academy attempts to acquaint the union member with the structure and problems of the economy, public and union government, and society as a whole so that he or she more readily understands the role the labor movement can play in helping to create a better life for all working people.

The Academy offers the individual an opportunity to expand his levels of awareness by becoming better acquainted with his environment and to acquire analytical skills in the socal sciences as well.

Thousands of workers from widely varying occupations and with union status ranging from full-time staff member to rank-and-file activist have attended classes of the Union Leadership Academy since its founding

in 1935. The Academy was created as a joint venture of District 4, International Union of Electrical Workers, and Rutgers University. ULA now actively involves three universities (Pennsylvania State, Rutgers, and West Virginia University), three departments of the AFL-CIO, and some twelve unions. Cornell University and the University of Connecticut are also affiliated.

At present, there are twenty-five ULA centers in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia, each offering the Academy's eight-term curriculum.

Student enrollment in the Union Leadership Academy is on an individual basis. Procedures for selection are determined locally by each ULA center.

The Academy offers eight courses as follows: Labor Leadership, Trade Union Administration, Labor Law, Labor and the Economy, Labor and the Government, Labor and Society, Theories of the Labor Movement, and Contemporary Problems or Trade Union History. Two of these courses directly relate to organizational citizenship and are designed to facilitate the student's ability to understand and function effectively within his union. 1) Labor Leadership, which is a study of leadership within the context of a trade union and addresses such areas as understanding human behavior, motivation, techniques for communicating with and listening to others as well as principles for effective persuasion and leadership. 2) Trade Union Administration is a course which seeks to present the framework of trade-union organization at the local, national and international level. It discusses democratic versus bureaucratic and autocratic structures and asks: what are the advantages and disadvantages of these various structures? (See Appendix C)

Another program similar to that of the ULA is a program in South Florida sponsored by the Palm Beach County Federation of Labor in cooperation with the University System of Florida. The following is a brief resume of that program.

South Florida AFL-CIO & Palm Beach County Federation of Labor
Regional Labor Schools

Length: 8 wks. Frequency: 1 night per week
3 hrs.

Non-credit tuition $50.00 paid by local union

Credit: additional $28.50 paid by student

Session I: 4 weeks

A. Labor Law, 3 sections IUD, PED, BCT
B. American Labor History
C. American Political Economy

Session II: 4 weeks

A. New Dimensions in Bargaining, 3 Sections
B. Local Union Administration
C. Labor & Political Action

Put on by Institute for Labor Research & Studies, State University System of Florida and respective Central Bodies

Coordinators: Rich Klimmer & John Remington, Dade
Rich Rich Klimmer & Bobby Neff, Palm Beach

Attendance: South Florida -55 (miami) Palm Beach -47

3) The Public Community and Political Citizenship.

While these ULA type courses are usually offered through the city and county central bodies, these central bodies along with the state federation also attempt ambitious programs in citizen education through the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (See Appendixes C.)

Moreover affiliated international unions conduct their own programs of citizen education in areas of public policy of concern to their members.

An excellent example of this type of program is provided by the United Steelworkers of America, District 7 Annual Legislative Conference. Each year District 7 of the USWA brings a group of their members to Washington for an educational program and an opportunity to meet with and discuss areas of concern with their congressional representatives and senators. The program for this legislative conference which was held in June, 1977 is illustrative of the nature of these educational programs:

Monday, June 27, 1977

10:00 a.m.	Conference Convenes in the Yorktown Ballroom Opening Remarks by James McGeehan, Director, District 7, USWA
10:30 a.m.	Guest Speaker: David Freeman, Executive Office of the President for Energy Policy and Planning Subject: Administration's Energy Program
11:15 a.m.	Guest Speaker: Elizabeth Jager, Research Department, AFL-CIO Subject: International Trade
12:00 p.m.	Guest Speaker: Frank Pollara, AFL-CIO Special Administrative Assistant Subject: AFL-CIO's Energy Program
	Announcements
1:00 p.m.	LUNCH

Tuesday, June 28, 1977

9:30 a.m.	Morning session begins
9:45 a.m.	Guest Speaker: John J. (Jack) Sheehan, Legislative Director, USWA Subject: legislative Issues
11:30 a.m.	Pennsylvania Delegation: Meet in Room 1224 Senate Office Building with Senators Schweiker (11:30 a.m.) and Heinz (12:00 p.m.)
	Delaware Delegation: Meet in Rom 457 Russell Senate Office Building with Senator Biden (12:00 p.m.) and Senator Roth (12:30 p.m.)

12:30 p.m. — All delegates assemble on the steps of the Capitol (Senate side) for group picture

1:00 p.m. — LUNCH

2:00 p.m. — Visit with Congressmen in their respective offices

7:00 p.m. — Dinner in the Yorktown Ballroom

Guest Speaker: Dr. Ray Marshall, Secretary of Labor, U. S. Department of Labor

Social Hour will follow dinner

The AFL-CIO also conducts programs of national scope in this area. Recently in order to effect congressional passage of labor law reform (S. 1883 and H.R. 8410) the AFL-CIO has undertaken a national campaign to promote public understanding of the necessity for reform. To coordinate reform efforts the AFL-CIO has established the Task Force on Labor Law Reforms, whose supporting finances are derived from special per capita contributions from its national and international union affiliates.

The Task Force has a full-time staff to carry out and coordinate reform activities. Campaign plans were formulated by the AFL-CIO Executive Council and are executed by staff members of the AFL-CIO delegated to sit on the Task Force. Task Force representatives of the following Federation Departments are responsible for seeing through planned Task Force activities - COPE, Education, Organization and Field Services, Public Relations, Legislative and Publications.

AFL-CIO and Task Force activities completed or underway are as follows:

AFL-CIO declares passage of Labor Law Reform top priority. Federation and Union executive officers make major LLR addresses.

-Specially prepared film "Reform at Last" distributed to AFL-CIO film library (50 copies), 50 State Federations, 8 regional directors.
-Film sold at cost to affiliates, adaptable for union logos.
-Large variety of literature developed and printed by Task Force.
-brochures
-pamphlets
-articles (Federationist and Viewpoint, IUD)
-Literature distributed to:
-labor movement
-UCLEA: University and College Labor Education Association
-audiences (labor and others)
-Speakers Bureau (Education Department)
-45,000 return cards mailed to union and general public organizations enabling invitation of speaker - The film is offered
-AFL-CIO regional office field representatives and members of Speakers Bureau accept speaker requests on notification from Bureau.
-1,200 Bureau speakers identified
-Labor Law reform speeches prepared and distributed to Bureau members. Periodic updated materials mailings (speaker kits)
-Literature sent to hosts for distribution to audience.
-Speakers before union audiences direct letter writing to Congress following speech. Advance arrangements are made for distribution of stationery and for mailing letters.
-P.R. Department makes media contacts re: speaker functions
-Bureau activities coordinated with International unions
-Coalition formed: Americans for Justice on the Job.

-Representatives of organized labor identified in every Congressional District to serve as congressional liaison persons in district. They are to mobilize delegations of unionists and coalition members to visit representatives and senators on home visits.

-Labor Law Reform planned for publicity and as fund raisers to support newspaper ads.

-Special training program given for trade unionists to prepare them to "educate" Congress through direct contact, in Washington, with representatives and senators.

4) The Individual Personal Citizenship

Most of the citizen education programs offered by unions and/or university

labor-education programs provide the student with skills which enhance their participation in a variety of community citizenship areas.

A course offered by the George Meany Center for Labor Studies in Silver Spring, Maryland this past year will illustrate this aspect of citizen education very well. The course was called Public Relations Workshop. The brochure describes the program as follows:

This program is intended to give a practical understanding of public relations to men and women who must speak for their organizations--local, district, council, state or national. It will cover the techniques of dealing with print and electronic media, the methods of membership communication and the ways to develop a community relations program. Participants will: 1) Practice writing effective news releases, news letter and handbills, and conducting press conferences and private interviews with newsmen.

2) Compile media contact lists using media directories.

3) Examine the role of photography in public relations and the elements of setting up news photos.

4) Discuss methods of handling the media during a strike or other crisis, during negotiations and before ratification.

5) Develop a community relations program to reach labor's normal allies including the churches, consumers, environmentalists, and the liberal and labor community.

In addition to the programs described above other areas of growing concern have been programming efforts directed at minority groups, youth, women and senior citizens. These efforts have cut across all four of the settings delinated above. For example: Rutgers has a special program conducted in Spanish in labor education for Spanish speaking minorities.

The AFL-CIO Department of Education ran a series of regional programs aimed at the under thirty trade union member on his community, labor relations and collective bargaining concerns. The AFL-CIO also developed a national Human Relations Development Institute with regional, state and city branches that aimed at assisting the disadvantaged, the under-employed and the veterans to obtain skills and understanding of the work process and society so that the individual could obtain and keep a job.

Labor educators have attempted to share their citizenship concerns with the wider community. (For a description of this effort see the paper by Professor Ronald Peters elswhere in this report) Appendix B.) Moreover, unions have intitiated programs of education in the schools and with various community groups. However, these efforts suffer from a lack of funds and personnel to carry them out. Perhaps a more important spin-off from the citizen education which the worker obtains, not only from formal education programs but also from the more informal citizen education derived from participation in his union, is the considerable citizenship expertise which the active trade unionists bring to their communities. Trade unionists are active participants in Blue Cross Councils, on United Way Funds, in political party organizations, Manpower Development Councils, Community Health Care Councils, on the Boards of retirement homes, apprenticeship training programs, the organization of CB clubs, fraternal lodges, etc. The considerable organizational skills of trade unionists are an invaluable resource to these groups, although often their participation is not associated with the trade union where they learned these skills.

It would seem then that an effort to expand citizen education, particularly in the framework of adult education and within the concept of life-long learning might well examine the programs and philosophies of the citizen education concepts of workers' educatinn. Moreover, workers' education has much to gain from an expanded concept of citizen education in terms of shared programs and an increased emphasis upon education.

Labor educators are hampered by lack of funds and staff. Restricted budgets make it difficult to reach beyond their own groups for participation in joint community programs. Such restrictions also limit their ability to share their own programs with the schools and other volunteer agencies.

However, labor educators have attempted to reach out and on rare occasions have obtained funding for some of their programs by obtaining grants from Title I of the Higher Education Act, the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Vocational Education and Intergovernmental Personnel Act. But for the most part, these were pilot ad hoc programs which did not provide continuing funding. Federal initiatives which would enable various worker-education concepts to be demonstrated as model projects to be tried in schools and in community programs would enable this considerable expertise in citizen education to be shared on a much wider basis. Such an initiative would surely redound to more informed citizen participation, citizen participation, moreover, with a pragmatic outlook; one that emphasizes those goals which have some hope of attainment and hence can be fought for with a greater sense of meaningful participation and with less sense of frustration and alienation.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Our recommendations flow from our understanding of the core values of the trade union and of its central importance to industrial democracy in the U. S. To bridge the gap between the union's ideals and their realization, substantial steps must be taken to strengthen the capability of labor education. Labor education, the spectrum of training programs undertaken either singly by unions or in concert with educational institutions, is the primary vehicle for reaching that frequently forgotten class, American workers. The steps we propose will require the support and, frequently, the financial assistance of the federal government. The central proposal in our recommendations, the one upon which all of them depend, is a call for a federal labor extension service.

The strengthening of labor education, we believe, will fullfill the promise of citizen education to deepen the participation of Americans in their society. Our recommendations place the vision of citizen education in a concrete setting, that of the workplace and of the institution which represents workers within it, the trade union. We contend that few low and middle income Americans will have the time and energy for civic participation unless they feel secure on their jobs.

EDUCATION FOR NEW CONSTITUENCIES

Our proposals were conceived in response to the needs of the trade union and of American workers, needs, we argue, labor education is in a strategic position to address. There is common agreement that labor education programs, for all their dynamism, have not reached their widest possible audience. Limited resources have meant that classes-in bargaining, grievance handling, union administration, and other leadership skills have concentrated on the union activists, e. g. shop stewards and committemen and labor leadership, the officers

and staff of local and national unions. Programs have yet to meet the demands of an increasingly educated rank and file, whose needs encompass both a desire for knowledge about their organizations and a yearning for self-development.

Nor have other special groups within the trade union gotten the attention they deserve. New workers enter the plant gates and office doors frequently without the slightest idea of what a union contract or constitution means or looks like. Unstinting efforts are required to sharpen the skills and perceptions of new members. Older workers and retirees formerly in union ranks have often been bypassed in educational ventures.

Additionally, young people in the public schools who may find themselves in a blue collar job or in one of the rapidly organizing occupations e.g., teaching, health care, law enforcement, human service jobs in the public sector, get the most minimal preparation for these roles. The social studies curriculum largely ignores the history of American workers and their unions. It also pay scant attention to the institutional framework in which many jobs are embedded, the system of industrial democracy unions have fostered. The surging "career education" programs have emphasized the technical aspects of jobs and have rarely dealt with their trade union setting

THE NEED FOR INNOVATIVE CURRICULA

Labor education must not only widen its reach but also extend its subject matter to new areas. Classes in this field have evolved from short functional training - short courses of six to eight weeks, conferences, and institutes - to longer term programs - from two to four years - with a humanities and social science orientation. The natural progression has led from "how to do it" classes in grievance handling and public speaking to broad gauged studies of Labor and Politics and Labor and the Economy.

Anne Gould, the director of one of the first Labor Liberal Arts Programs, described the perspective in which this direction in labor education is rooted:

> "few trade unions any longer restrict their operations to simple bargaining. They have moved officially from such strictly bread and butter operations to concerned involvement and activity in the broad social problems of our society, and they have become actively engaged in helping to fashion our nation's domestic and foreign policies...The kind of educational program needed to help implement present union operations is one based on the broadest kind of curriculum, with courses that help both the union officer and the union member many of whom left school in early adolescence to gain understanding of themselves, of their fellow man, and of the society in which they live, and of the role now possible for labor--given a membership and officialdom equal to the task. What is needed, today, is the addition of a broad program in the social sciences and the humanities".

Unions and university labor institutes desperately need support to develop even more comprehensive curricula. Experiments should be mounted in teaching about labor's relationship to such intricate areas as the urban crisis, energy, housing, community process, and the international economy.

TRAINING FOR NEW UNION FUNCTIONS

As trade unionists assume a wider range of leadership responsibilities in their communities - on boards, commissions, and other agencies, these officials will require additional expertise. For example, a union representative on a health planning board must learn about the politics and finance of health care policy.

Similarly, the more unions are swamped by the requirements of federal regulation - by the demands of ERISA, OSHA, LMRDA, etc, the more these organizations must depend on training just to keep up. There is a sizable constituency in the labor movement which would flock to classes that would help them penetrate the maze of federal rules and regulations. The demand is there but, to be tapped, new courses must be developed and demonstrated. Corporations routinely

write off such training and can turn to numerous resources to assist them in dealing with the federal government. Unions lack these luxuries.

PROMOTING WIDER ACCESS TO EDUCATION

Unionized employees and unorganized workers alike have all too often been unable to capitalize on the educational opportunities available in their states. Educational institutions are just beginning to alter practices that have favored the full-time student from middle and upper-middle class origins to the disadvantage of the sons and daughters of workers.

Financial aid policies (part-time students are usually not eligible), scheduling, registration, admissions, and other procedures are obstacles to the full participation of low and middle income citizens. Youth and adults from these backgrounds have no central source of information on the training available in their communities. Moreover, they often lack the self-confidence and skills to negotiate with educational systems. When access is available, the style of teaching in universities, often heavily abstract and verbal, intimidates some working class students. Equal opportunity can also be a hollow promise if the curriculum is not modified to respond to the priorities that new clients bring with them to the schools.

The conferees propose a series of mechanisms that will simultaneously strengthen the providers of labor education and promote more entry ways for workers to learning. To reach future workers, we recommend demonstration projects in the public schools that will develop new social science curricula on the role of workers in America society and the history of the labor movement. Further, these pilot curricula should introduce students to the union's function in the work place and its position in the many occupations they will be joining.

LABOR EDUCATION AND MANPOWER TRAINING

Another promising strategy for reaching future workers is to build a labor studies component in CETA and the other burgeoning manpower training programs. Next to Defense, the Labor Department has received more money under the first Carter budget than any other agency. 560,000 people currently hold jobs under CETA. The billion dollar program to get jobs for youth is just starting.

Many such workers in these manpower projects will be entering union jurisdictions or will later find a position in a unionized workplace. Labor educators from unions and universities would provide orientation sessions and classes on trade unionism, labor history, industrial democracy, and other areas within these training programs.

EDUCATION ON THE JOB

For workers already on the job we recommend that demonstration projects be instituted to provide educational opportunties "on the clock". Management and salaried personnel are permitted time off during work hours for training at employer expense. Wage workers rarely enjoy this privilege and, then, only when their proposed training meets the narrow criteria of "job related" instruction. Unions routinely pick up the cost of lost wages, travel, and other expenses to defray the expense of worker participation in labor education programs, e.g. summer schools, conferences, and institutes.

By offering workers the time for self-development and practical training this plan will be realizing the core values of citizen education. Citizen education anticipates a society in which all individuals, not simply upper-income managers and professionals, have the leisure to meet their educational needs as they define them. This goal requires loosening the restrictions on

wage workers on the job.

Some unions, notably industrial unions bargaining with large corporations, have won tuition refunds and other educational benefits. The United Auto Workers, for example, can offer 80% of the workers they represent up to $900 a year in tuition refunds payable by management. As a result of the 1976 negotiations with Chrysler, classes in labor studies for an AA or BA degree became eligible for reimbursement.

In the public sector, where workers can put credits to use in advancement on the job, District Council 37 in New York City (of the American Federation of State and County and Municipal Employees) has set a model for the use of an educational fund. The Council has at its disposal a one and one half million dollar fund - created by an employer payment of $25 for each of 60,000 bargaining unit members. Each member can use $350 for the reimbursment of tuition expenses. Using this financial base, the Council has worked out agreements with local colleges for training programs and has established its own undergraduate college, "The Downtown Campus of District 37", part of New Rochelle College, at union headquarters.

Taking these experiments a step further, we recommend that the government subsidize selected employers for the lost time involved in wage workers pursuing educational opportunities. The opportunities would run the gamut from labor education programs conducted by unions and university labor centers to adult education classes at nearby school and colleges. These demonstration projects would be testing our assumption that a major obstacle to workers' pursuit of learning is the time and educational expense inherent in this search.

"WORKERS SABBATICALS"

Another innovation that should be tried are "workers sabbaticals",

paid time off from the job for continuing one's education. A startling idea in the U. S., educational leave is widely accepted by labor, management, and government in many European countries. The French unions, for example, in 1970 won a paid educational leave agreement in their negotiations with management. The clause was translated into law in 1971.

The former President of the Auto Workers, Leonard Woodcock, advocated "workers sabbaticals" in a speech at the Third Annual Joint Labor Education Conference in Black Lake. His argument is one with which we would concur:

> "I believe that workers need to unwind, or improve their skill or strike out in new directions just as much as college professors do. New and young members who become active today in the labor movement do not necessarily have to go through the "School of Hard Knocks", as I did to gain knowledge and skills to become a union leader. The route being offered now through union education and college and university labor education is much more appropriate for modern times".

The concept of "workers sabbaticals" could be extended through federal educational policy. Just as the G.I. Bill brought streams of working class people into higher education, so today we urge that similar "entitlements" be given to workers of modest income.

UNION EDUCATIONAL COUNSELORS

If access to wider learning opportunities for workers is to be promoted, a vehicle is needed to assist them in taking advantage of the resources available. The best plans will flounder if workers walk blind-folded into the thicket of schooling. Under the most generous educational fund, that of the U.A.W., only 1.5% of eligible workers have used the monies they are eligible for.

We recommend that experiments be established on several job sites to train local union educational counselors. These staff would assist employees

in finding the most appropriate training. University labor centers should conduct the preparation of these union officials for their jobs. Preparation might include courses on the structure of secondary and higher education, the nature of adult education and other training programs, financial aid programs, and counseling techniques.

With this kind of instruction, local counselors would be in a position to produce worker-oriented handbooks, directories outlining the training available in a particular community. These handbooks should also include advice, written in a style workers can easily follow, on techniques of dealing with educational institutions, e.g., with their registration, admissions, financial aid policies.

The one notable attempt to train educational counselors, mounted by the International Union of Electrial Workers, was particularly successful . The I.U.E. had bargained successfully for a tuition refund of up to $400 a year in negotiations in 1969 with G. M. and Westinghouse. They wanted to ensure that the fund was used. With the cooperation of university labor institutes under a Department of Labor grant, the I.U.E. trained over 200 local educational counselors in 12 cities. The payoff of the program was impressive- 860 workers went on to get their high school diplomas and 230 entered college.

LABOR EDUCATION MATERIALS

Without imaginative new course materials and curricula pitched to workers and union members, these recruits to educational institutions will quickly get frustrated and drop out. We propose that existing labor education materials be collected, catalogued, and disseminated from a central location. There is no need for each new program addressing the needs of workers to start from scratch.

A FEDERAL LABOR EXTENSION SERVICE: THE CORNERSTONE OF A UNION CITIZENSHIP PROGRAM

The cornerstone of our proposal is a recommendation for a federal labor extension service. The service would fund on a continuous basis the many programs in university labor institutes which would, in turn, assist workers in their regions.

This would permit labor education to broaden the constituency it serves and to expand the number and quality of its classes. Like agriculture, labor, too, would have its "county agents" providing training, advice, and research at workers' request, The establishment of such a service would be a belated recognition of workers' claims on the taxes they have paid to support education in the U. S. A labor extension bill would be a small step toward giving workers the same crack at educational resources that management enjoys.

The funds for a labor extension service would be distributed according to formula, on a matching basis, to each state. The state university labor education centers would be the natural institutions to which monies should be channelled. Ther service would strengthen existing programs and promote new institutes in states which lack them. Labor advisory committees representing the state and national leadership of the labor movement would provide overall advice and direction to the labor extension service.

The idea for such a service is not new. A coalition of trade unionists and labor educators under the direction of Hilda Smith pushed a bill to create a Labor Extension Service, an effort that ultimately failed in 1948 in the Eightieth Congress. J. C. Turner, the President of the Operating Engineers, and one of the key people involved in promoting and drafting the earlier legislation, recently made an eloquent appeal for a new campaign to achieve this objective:

"Some thirty years ago, as a Vice-President of the Greater Washington Labor Union, I assisted in drafting proposed legislation that would have created a National Labor Education Extension Act. My recollection of the Morrill Act of 1862, the bedrock legislation for public post-secondary education, is that it was "to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts...in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes...

During the century or so since the state colleges began their steady growth, I have to assume that the ivy has grown over the words "mechanic arts" because the agricultural extension service exists as a model of continuing education, while not a penny of federal money has been appropriated for labor extension education.

A labor education extension program operated through the state university system could have as great a benefit for America's workers--the industrial classes--as the agricultural extension service has had for farmers....."

Recently, Leonard Woodcock, the former president of the United Auto Workers (in a speech prepared for the Third Annual Joint Labor Education Service, Walter and May Reuther UAW Family Education Center, Black Lake, Michigan, November 14, 1976), also called for a extension service:

"Unfortunately, the rich promise of the Land Grant College Act to the farmers and mechanics of the nation was only half fullfilled. American agriculture and the American people have been superbly served by the land grant colleges, but little or no effort was made to cultivate the hidden harvests in metropolitan centers by the extension method.

"I, and other spokemen for the UAW, have called, on other occasions, for support of a federal program for labor extension services. Then and now, we ask that the extremely effective and fruitful education programs developed for farm families be provided equally for city families.

If the expansion of labor education that we urge is to be truly effective, the Office of Education must establish a unit with special expertise in this area. There must be a unit there that people in the field can turn to for advice, support and assistance.

APPENDIX A

Citizen Education in A Union Setting: Conferees/Staff

UNIVERSITY AND COLLEGE LABOR EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

CITIZEN EDUCATION CONFERENCE

November 9 - 10, 1977

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Silver Spring, Maryland

UCLEA CITIZEN EDUCATION CONFERENCE

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APPENDIX B

Labor, Community and Citizen Education: A Discussion Paper

by Ron Peters

Labor, Community and Citizenship Education:
A Discussion Paper

Presented at Citizenship Education Project Conference

George Meany Center for Labor Studies
Silver Springs, Maryland
November 9-10, 1977

Prepared by:

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This paper is a discussion of labor's community action activities vis-a-vis the possible ramifications for citizenship education. It is recognized that organized labor's most crucial function is that of defending and expanding the economic (or job) interests of its members, by far the bulk of union energies and resources are dedicated to this task. To advance and defend their collective bargaining gains, unions have been drawn increasingly into the political arena which represents another major area of union activity. Community action is a third major area of union endeavor. Labor's community action will be the focus of this discussion since this is an aspect of union activity which could best be linked with what this author understands as citizenship education. This presentation will include background of the development of labor in the local community, review some of the more relevant studies and observations of this phenomena, sketch some of labor's principle activity and concludes with a list of issues pointing to possible new areas of activity for labor educators.

Labor education and citizenship education has common roots. Citizenship education, as I see it, attempts to broaden the understanding of, appreciation for and commitment to democratic principles through encouraging voluntary assumption of functional roles in institutions which control, shape, affect or change the economic, social and political environment in which people exist. Labor education as practiced by unions, universities and other agencies has as its mission the preparation of union officers and activists in skills, knowledge, and techniques which results in unions being more effective instruments to represent the economic, social and political interests of their members and wage earners in general. Labor education is one of the principal ways in which unions transmits programs and policies to their memberships,

A look at the historical development of unions and community will help bring into focus the relationship of citizenship education and unions. During and following World War II, American labor launched a policy of widespread political and community participation. It systematically sought to gain representation and influence in many areas of community life--government, education, religion, welfare, recreation and even the family. Labor reasoned that representatives of industry had penetrated almost every facet of the community and if labor was to have equal influence it would have to do likewise. The goal was to have status and power equality with business. Further, by gaining representation and influence on local boards, agencies and committees, labor felt it could demonstrate to others that its members were good citizens and were willing to contribute to community life.

Labor's entry as a new force on the national political scene in the 1940's and labor's emphasis on community action spurred academics for a decade or more to investigate labor's impact on community decision making. Although somewhat out of vogue in recent years the 1950's and early 1960's found academics expressing considerable curiosity in the labor-community interaction. Although it is recognized that labor had gained considerable economic and political power there was disagreement about its place in community decision making and labor's image of that decision making process. Several studies sought to assess the place of organized labor in the local community directly. McKee's 1953 study of Steelport (a city of 40,000) showed that the CIO had won formal political control after 1945 but had not altered the basic strength and prestige of business, however, the consolidation of the Catholic church, ethnic groups and labor unions into a block represented a considerable change in traditional power alignments. Hart's 1949 study indicated that the UAW

in Windsor, Ontario (population 100,000) was disengaging itself from management dominated organizations and substituting union sponsored activities to meet the social needs of workers. In Illini City (population 70,000) Wray found that unions despite increased bargaining strength had not genuinely influenced the programs of local associations. Union representatives there were absorbed into business organizations such as the Chamber of Commerce. In Steeltown (population 14,000) Walker found unions used their strength to settle economic and collective bargaining problems and not political, welfare or educational problems. Yet in a crisis situation they had power resources which had not been manifested earlier.

Form and Saur's 1960 study of Lansing, Michigan found that labor officials perceived a small active clique of community decision makers within which labor was under represented. Labor saw its community goals not differing substantially from management's but labor's limitations were perceived as resulting from internal problems rather than from opposition of management or other groups.

In reviewing these and other studies Form and Miller identified what they viewed as five major general interrelated community objectives of organized labor. First, was the improvement of the consumer's or "general public" welfare. To make collectively bargained wages go as far as possible, it is often in the interest of labor to have the community, including business and industry, pay a larger share of the cost of local services. In this regard, labor considers itself not a specific interest group but as a representative or spokesman of lower socio-economic groups.

Second, is labor's concern for a equitable distribution of community services. As protaganists for the "bottom-half" labor wants to make sure that taxes are determined according to their ability to pay, in return unions want government and other agencies to provide services equitably. Thus, they might for example, insist that working class neighborhoods be given the same kind of streetlighting as is provided in the "better parts of town". Third, is union acceptance, a demand for status and equality with business management and other groups. There is a desire by unions to be well thought of by the public and to overcome the negative images often associated by strikes or other aspects of economic welfare. Further, labor likes to be associated with positive public projects. Public acceptance of unions has its payoffs for unions in preventing anti-labor legislation, obtaining community support in the event of a prolonged strike and the recruitment of workers who are willing to join unions when they enter the labor market.

The fourth involves winning the sentiments, or at least negating the anti-union attitudes, of potential new labor market entrants. Since World War II unions have been increasingly conscious of public relations and have attempted to get its point of view represented in public schools. Colleges and universities have also been urged to adapt courses and programs in labor relations for regular students as well as to establish special labor programs to service the educational needs of unions. Form and Miller's final objective is for unions to gain representation on important community agencies. Such participation help eliminate some of the status barriers which traditionally separate labor from the more established community elements. The community programs also help supplement labor's political program thus strengthening its power position within the community.

In recent years the principle thrust of labor's community role has been through the AFL-CIO Community Services program. This program, which is also run cooperatively with non-affiliated unions like the UAW, advances the proposition that a union member is first and foremost a citizen of his community and has responsibility to making his community a good place to live, work, play, and raise children. Further, unions have a responsibility for the health and welfare of their members and members' families which extend beyond the work place. This includes not only emergencies caused by strikes, unemployment or disaster but is extended to meet personal and family needs. Such needs can be addressed through the establishment and maintenance of social service agencies with trained personnel and facilities capable of delivering services where needed.

Funding for these programs comes partially through monies raised by local United Way or community fund drives. Labor leadership is usually prominent in heading up these fund raising efforts. Full-time labor staff representatives on community fund agencies help make the connection between union members and their families in need of help and agencies which can provide service. Organizations specializing in such things as legal aid, family and child services, crippled or retarded children, senior citizen problems, alcoholism, and mental health problems are just some of the agencies which can be used as referral or called upon to intervene in times of personal or family crisis. Union staff representatives not infrequently use referrals to community agencies to defend a union member facing severe discipline or discharge resulting from some on-the-job problem manifested by a personal or domestic crisis.

Presently, there are over 200 labor community services staff in nearly 170 communities throughout the nation. There have been over 100,000 local

union community services counselors trained who on a voluntary basis serve as part of a referral or intervention network for union members in need of help. Thus, community services programs have become an important servicing arm complementing the protections and benefits secured for union members through collective bargaining. Labor representatives also serve on state and national level representation boards of organizations like the Red Cross, Boy Scouts, and National Council on Crime and Delinquency resulting in labor's voice being heard in policy making circles of these organizations. Not underestimating the political ramifications of labor's community services programs, Joseph Beirne, longtime chairman of the AFL-CIO Community Services Committee, said of the program, "Perhaps through its role as a 'people's lobby' advancing a broad range of interests and goals through the political, legislative and social welfare activities, labor can serve as a spokesman for all people."

Some federal legislation of the 1960's established citizen input mechanisms. The Office of Economic Opportunity, so called War on Poverty, provided for community action boards or councils. The Model Cities Act called for elected neighborhood task force and citizens community councils. Later legislation like the Revenue Sharing Act provided for similar citizen representation instruments. Labor involved itself in many of these programs both by encouraging labor functionaries to serve on these boards and by labor involving itself in major institutional role. In 1966 for instance, the Cincinnati Central Labor Council placed representatives on the OEO created Metropolitan Community Action Board. Out of this representation came union sponsored job training programs for the Neighborhood Youth Corps. Union representatives were also trained to help residents of working class neighborhoods articulate their needs to city government.

Another approach by labor to the problem of community was promoted in the mid 1960's by the Industrial Unions Department of the AFL-CIO, then headed by UAW President Walter Reuther. In response to the growing awareness of urban problems the plan called for community or neighborhood unions of low income people based on a trade union model. In the words of its chief architect IUD Director Jack Conway;

> "A community union could mesh traditional trade union functions with modern community centered functions. It could for example bring tenants together to bargain collectively with slum lords. It could have its own grievance procedure and steward system so that the complaints of the neighborhood could be voiced more effectively. It could institute educational and retraining programs. It could raise the political awareness and political effectiveness of long neglected people."

No doubt one of the most creative endeavors of labor in the post World War II era, this effort by the IUD had mixed success. The most notable of these experiments were in Chicago, Newark and the Watts area of Los Angeles. They deserve some examination for this discussion.

In Chicago in 1965 discussions between Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations (CCCO) a group of 36 black and civil right leaders, and the Regional IUD Director, Charles Chiakulas, resulted in plans to form a community based organization centering on civic issues and consisting of regular dues paying members. The first major undertaking of the fledgling organization was to organize housekeeping, maintenance and other workers in hospitals on Chicago's west side. Many of these workers were residents of the ghettos where the intended community union was to be based. By the very nature of the task, the IUD staff tended to dominate the organizing campaign, somewhat to the chagrin of the civil rights leaders. The slow progress of getting union

authorization cards from hospital workers frustrated the more public issue oriented Black groups. Conflict over priorities developed between the leaders of the SCLC & CCCO which further weakened the shaky coalition. The death knell for the initial project was sounded when in 1966 a Teamsters-SEIU coalition appeared on the scene, claimed jurisdiction for the organizing campaign and proceeded to successfully organize the hospital employees.

Further difficulties were encountered during an IUD sponsored drive to organize low-income tenants in buildings operated by a large property management firm. Initially, over 500 tenants signed authorization cards. When the company refused to negotiate, efforts to mobilize the tenants into collective action were unsuccessful. Many had moved away or had completely forgotten about the effort. The UAW's withdrawal from the IUD and Chiakulas' untimely death in 1968 totally dissipated the Chicago effort.

The IUD's Newark endeavor met with a bit more success. Norman Hill, who initially worked with the IUD in the Chicago campaign, with Conway's blessing moved to Northern New Jersey in 1967. Instead of working with established civil rights groups, he concentrated on organizing small factories and retail store employees in ghetto areas. Once organized Hill felt the union should go beyond wages and working conditions and negotiate over such issues as credit and sales practices. The 1967 Newark riots badly disrupted the plans. Hill left shortly thereafter to join the A. Phillip Randolph Institute. What organization was built turned from union organizing to training hard-core unemployed. It eventually secured a U.S. Labor Department grant and opened a job training center. The Newark effort from its initial position as a confrontation oriented organization transformed into one that worked within the

system. In short, the community union had shifted tactics to a point where it much more resembled programs closely aligned of the AFL-CIO.

The Watts experience differed from those in Chicago and Newark. In early 1965 the Institute of Industrial Relations at UCLA along with 12 unions helped establish the Watts Community Labor Action Committee (WCLAC) built around a core of union members living in Watts. The Committee was aimed at dealing with all public and private interests which affected the citizens of Watts. The riots of 1965 forced the Committee to divert its energy to finding food and lodging for whose homes were destroyed. Eventually the Committee returned to its original purpose under the leadership of an energetic, resourceful UAW steward Ted Watkins. Success in lobbying the county board of supervisors for a hospital being built in Watts served to auger well for the Committee as an effective pressure group for local interest. Subsequent successes included and OEO funded teenage remedial reading program, a summer camp for 2,000 children in an abandoned army camp, community vegetable gardens and a job training program which qualified residents to fill the jobs in the new hospital.

Problems beset the committee when Conway proposed the organizing of a dues paying membership and a genuine community union. Several representatives on the committee from the original unions were skeptical of this concept which among other things could have disrupted their established city-wide relationship with government and other groups. Also Watkins gave little indication of strong militancy. As events transpired WCLAC worked increasingly in building linkages with established agencies and away from open conflict situations. It is still going strong. Fundamentally it serves as a contractor for federal

health, welfare and other community projects. Without a doubt the Watts experiment was far more successful than the Chicago or Newark experiences but fell far short of the militant community union envisioned by Conway and others in the IUD in the mid 1960's.

The experience of labor at the community level appears to be one working within existing institutions. This approach has been more successful than that based on a conflict orientation or a dual system of separate facilities. American union behavior in the community is generally consistent with its behavior in the economic arena; that is one of basic accommodation with management coupled with a demand of what is considered to be its just rewards.

Given the prevailing patterns of labor's involvement at the community level there are some expanded sets of activities which although not new or novel could prescribe areas worthy of discussion and consideration by labor educators in unions and universities.

1. With the growth of area and regional federally legislated planning areas labor could and should be represented on these bodies. For example, area health planning agencies are instruments which can be quite important in determining the kind of health care to be delivered in an area and who controls that health care delivery. The interests of union members demand that the quality of health care services received is as important as bargained benefit levels. Union involvement in health maintenance organizations is one approach to this problem where the concept of keeping healthy, as opposed to merely treating illness, is advanced. To be effective on these agencies labor representatives need to be recruited, and be given lost time for meetings, provided special training in this complex field coupled with continuing education during their tenure of service.

Union policy also needs to be developed concerning local health problems of their memberships.

2. A second area of union involvement could be in the Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA) agency. To a large extent employers have seized the initiative with these agencies seeing them as a source for trained but low wage workers. Union representatives working through such agencies as the Human Resources Development Institute can develop effective representation on manpower planning boards. Specialized training and continuing education is also a needed aspect for union representation in this area.

3. A systematic program identifying union members who are currently serving on community boards and holding community leadership positions needs to be undertaken. Often these persons were never active in their unions or even had a high consciousness about union membership. Their union affiliations need to be kindled and labor's policies and priorities on public policy should be made known to them. An on-going liaison between them and union leadership should be established and maintained.

4. Some action oriented research and evaluation on the effects of labor's community services program should be conducted. Case studies on the effects of community services where labor has found itself in a severe crisis would be helpful in pointing out the function of community services in difficult times. For example, the Steelworkers 1974 strike against Dow Chemical in Midland, Michigan, the union found a surprisingly large amount of support in a relatively conservative community during that 4-month long strike. Such occurrences deserves study in a manner not unlike the

community labor studies of the 1950's. Among other things these studies could help identify the effective aspects of labor's community services programs and may highlight some implications in union policy making.

5. A discussion of labor's role in the community ought to be included in nearly every labor education program. With such an inclusion union activists with a propensity to become involved in community affairs could be identified, encouraged, and informed as to how to go about making their participation effective.

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